

## Message Text

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ORIGIN PRS-01

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SSO-00 CCO-00 /017 R

DRAFTED BY S/PRS: JMORDWAY  
APPROVED BY S/PRS: JOHN H. TRATTNER  
S/S - MR. SEBASTIAN

-----311844Z 103162 /42  
O 311744Z MAR 77 ZFF4  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

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FOR CARTER FROM S/PRS

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS R.)

SUBJECT: TRAVELING PRESS SUMMARY, THURSDAY MORNING 3/31

NO. 16

NEWSPAPERS

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

PAGE ONE STORY. HEADLINE: "ARMS-CONTROL SETBACK MAY  
LEAVE DOOR OPEN"

DAN SOUTHERLAND AND DAVID WILLIS FROM MOSCOW

LEAD: "DETENTE HAS SUFFERED A SERIOUS SETBACK, BUT THE  
DOOR IS APPARENTLY STILL OPEN FOR PROGRESS LATER IN THE  
YEAR."

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OTHER POINTS:

-- QUESTION IS WHETHER A NEW ROUND IN ARMS RACE IS ABOUT  
TO BEGIN, OR WHETHER SOVIET REJECTION IS PART OF TOUGH  
BARGAINING STANCE TO BE FOLLOWED BY SOME SOFTENING AS

OCTOBER DEADLINE APPROACHES.

-- VANCE WAS DISAPPOINTED; TOLD NEWSMEN HE WOULD MEET WITH  
GROMYKO IN EUROPE IN MAY.

-- SOVIET SOURCES SAID NEXT MOVE UP TO US. PRESENCE OF BREZHNEV AT FINAL SESSION OF TALKS INDICATION OF SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO LISTEN.

-- SOURCES INDICATED KREMLIN FELT AMERICANS IN TOO MUCH OF A HURRY TO PUSH AGREEMENT THAT WOULD FUNDAMENTALLY CHANGE VLADIVOSTOK PACT.

-- ONE EUROPEAN DIPLOMAT SAID SOVIETS MAY FEEL THEY CAN'T BE PUSHED AROUND ON VANCE'S FIRST VISIT, WITH HUMAN RIGHTS AND UPSETTING OF VLADIVOSTOK AND ALL.

-- PROGRESS MADE, US-SOVIET RELATIONS GOOD ACCORDING TO VANCE, WHO OFFERED LITTLE CONCRETE EVIDENCE, HOWEVER.

-- OUTLINE OF US PROPOSALS

-- SOVIET SOURCES SAID HUMAN RIGHTS CRITICISM HELPED "SET THE TONE" FOR TALKS. "MOSCOW DID NOT LIKE 'SUNDAY SERMONS' FROM WASHINGTON."

-- ALTHOUGH VANCE DESCRIBED SOVIET ATTITUDE AS NON-ACRIMONIOUS, SOVIET SOURCES STRESSED THAT THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE EMOTION BEHIND SOVIET REJECTION OF AMERICAN PROPOSALS.

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-- SOVIET SOURCES SAID LEADERSHIP IS GROUP OF OLDER, CONSERVATIVE MEN WHO DISLIKED THE US TEAM'S "MADISON AVENUE" APPROACH TO "SELLING" BASIC CHANGES IN WHAT SOVIETS CONSIDER SOUND VLADIVOSTOK PROPOSALS.

--"SOVIET SOURCES SAID THEY PREFERRED THE MORE SECRETIVE AND WHAT THEY SAID WAS THE 'MORE EUROPEAN' NEGOTIATING STYLE OF KISSINGER."

NEW YORK DAILY NEWS

PAGE ONE SUBHEADLINE: "BREZH NIXES US NUKE PITCH"

STORY ON PAGE 2. HEADLINE: "SOVIETS SHOOT DOWN NUKE-PACT HOPE"

JEFFREY ANTEVIL FROM MOSCOW

LEAD: "SOVIET LEADER LEONID I. BREZHNEV YESTERDAY REJECTED BOTH US PROPOSALS FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONS CONTROL AND PRESENTED NO NEW OFFERS ON ARMS REDUCTIONS. THE MOVE DEALT A SEVERE SETBACK TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S HOPES OF A NEW STRATEGIC ARMS TREATY."

OTHER POINTS:

-- REJECTION CAST GLOOM OVER NEGOTIATING TEAM. VANCE SAID HE WAS DISAPPOINTED.

-- VANCE HOPED REJECTION WOULD NOT LEAD TO ACCELERATED ARMS RACE.

-- VANCE SENT A MESSAGE ON FAILURE TO PRES CARTER, BUT WOULD NOT SAY WHETHER HE THOUGHT THERE WOULD BE ANY EFFECT ON PROSPECTS FOR A SUMMIT MEETING.

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-- VANCE DID NOT BELIEVE HUMAN RIGHTS CONTROVERSY PLAYED ANY PART IN REJECTION OF PROPOSALS, "BUT YOU'LL HAVE TO ASK THEM."

-- VANCE AND GROMYKO TO RESUME DISCUSSION ON ARMS TREATY AND OTHER SUBJECTS AT MEETING IN MAY. VANCE INDICATED US WOULD WAIT FOR SOVIETS TO COME UP WITH NEW OFFER AT THAT TIME.

-- VANCE HELD OPEN POSSIBILITY OF TREATY BY OCTOBER, BUT DID NOT SAY HOW, OTHER THAN BY SOVIET ACCEPTANCE OF ONE OF US PLANS.

-- ONLY EXAMPLE OF PROGRESS THAT VANCE COULD GIVE WAS ESTABLISHMENT OF WORKING GROUPS.

-- VANCE PROVIDED MORE DETAIL THAN BEFORE ON THE US ARMS PROPOSALS.

NEW YORK TIMES

LEAD STORY. HEADLINE: "ARMS TALKS BREAK OFF AS SOVIET REJECTS 2 KEY PROPOSALS BY US; CARTER SAYS HE ISN'T DISCOURAGED"

BERNARD GWERTZMAN FROM MOSCOW

NOTE: TIMES PRINTS LENGTHY EXCERPTS FROM SECRETARY'S NEWS CONFERENCE

LEAD: "TALKS BETWEEN SECSTATE CYRUS R. VANCE AND LEONID I. BREZHNEV ON A TREATY TO LIMIT OFFENSIVE MISSILES AND BOMBERS CARRYING NUCLEAR WARHEADS BROKE DOWN TODAY."

OTHER POINTS:

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-- SOVIET LEADER REJECTED AS "INEQUITABLE" BOTH US PROPOSALS AND MADE NO COUNTERPROPOSAL.

-- VANCE SENT HOME WITH ONLY MINOR SUCCESS IN SECONDARY ISSUES. THIS RAISES QUESTION ABOUT FUTURE COURSE OF RELATIONS, STRAINED BY HUMAN RIGHTS CONTROVERSY.

-- VANCE CLEARLY DISAPPOINTED, BUT SOUGHT TO AVOID CREATING SENSE OF CRISIS AND INSISTED THAT OVERALL RELATIONS HAD NOT BEEN IMPAIRED.

-- VANCE AND GROMYKO TO MEET IN MAY TO DEAL WITH STRATEGIC ARMS AND MIDDLE EAST.

-- USSR SOUGHT, TOO, TO LEAVE IMPRESSION RELATIONS WERE NORMAL. QUOTED TASS REPORT.

-- NO EVIDENCE SOVIET SIDE HAD REJECTED AMERICAN PROPOSALS FOR ANY BUT MILITARY REASONS.

-- "ALMOST LOST IN ATTENTION FOCUSED" ON SALT WAS AGREEMENT TO SET UP WORKING GROUPS. LISTED GROUPS.

-- BACKGROUND ON PROPOSALS THAT WERE REJECTED.

#### WALL STREET JOURNAL

THE JOURNAL RUNS A LONG ARTICLE ON PAGE 2 BY ROBERT KEATLEY AND KENNETH BACON, NO DATELINE.

HEADLINE: "TALKS ON LIMITING STRATEGIC ARMS COLLAPSE IN MOSCOW BUT US, RUSSIA WILL TRY AGAIN IN GENEVA THIS MAY"

SUBHEADLINE: "WEAPONS-PROGRAM SPEEDUP IS POSSIBLE, CARTER SAYS, IF NEW NEGOTIATIONS FAIL"

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LEAD: "STRATEGIC ARMS CONTROL TALKS COLLAPSED AT LEAST TEMPORARILY IN MOSCOW YESTERDAY, BUT SOVIET AND AMERICAN OFFICIALS WILL TRY TO REVIVE THEM IN GENEVA DURING MAY."

THE REST OF THE PIECE COVERED MAINLY THE PRESIDENT'S IMPROMPTU NEWS CONFERENCE. IT NOTED THAT BOTH SECRETARY AND

PRESIDENT WERE DISAPPOINTED BUT NOT DISCOURAGED, YET THEY DID NOT GIVE MUCH INDICATION OF OPTIMISM ABOUT MAY MEETING.

ALSO COVERED WERE THE MAIN POINTS OF THE US PROPOSALS. THE PIECE CONCLUDED WITH COVERAGE OF THE "WORKING GROUPS."

#### WASHINGTON POST

LEAD ARTICLE. HEADLINE: "US, SOVIETS REACH IMPASSE ON ARMS LIMITS"

MURREY MARDER AND PETER OSNOS FROM MOSCOW

LEAD: "THE SOVIET UNION AND THE US REJECTED EACH OTHER'S PROPOSALS FOR A NEW ACCORD ON CURBING STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS TONIGHT, ENDING THEIR KREMLIN TALKS IN GLOOM AND PLUNGING AMERICAN-SOVIET DETENTE TO A NEW LEVEL OF UNCERTAINTY."

OTHER POINTS:

-- THIS POSES FIRST GRAVE GLOBAL DIPLOMATIC TEST FOR ADMINISTRATION. SERIOUS FOR USSR, TOO. EACH NATION CITES ARMS CONTROL AS CENTRAL ISSUE IN RELATIONSHIP.

-- TALKS HAVE NOT BEEN ABANDONED. EXISTING ARMS CONTROL MEASURES REMAIN IN EFFECT.  
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-- VANCE AND GROMYKO AGREED TO MEET IN MAY. WORKING GROUPS ESTABLISHED. THESE ACTIONS ARE TO CUSHION CONSEQUENCES OF FAILURE ON KEY SUBJECT.

-- HUMAN RIGHTS CLASH DISTURBED RELATIONS AND MADE KREMLIN SUSPICIOUS OF CARTER'S POLICIES IN GENERAL.

-- OTHER STARTLING NEWS WAS BREZHNEV'S APPEARANCE: GRIM, FACE PUFFY AND ASHEN, SPEECH AND MOVEMENTS SLURRED. REVIVED SPECULATION ABOUT HIS HEALTH.

-- FAILURE TO MAKE HEADWAY COULD DAMAGE BREZHNEV'S STANDING.

-- BOTH NATIONS SOUGHT TO MINIMIZE REPERCUSSIONS. VANCE INVOKED A CLAIM OF "PROGRESS" TO COUNTER ATMOSPHERE OF DESPAIR.

--SOVIET STATEMENT ON TV GAVE NO INDICATION OF SOVIET MOOD.

-- SOVIETS ARE SUSPICIOUS OF NEW PROPOSALS. "SOVIET SOURCES" SUSPECT US TRICKERY TO SHIFT NUCLEAR BALANCE.

-- LENGTHY BACKGROUND ON VLADIVOSTOK, CRUISE AND BACKFIRE.

-- LIST OF WORKING GROUPS.

-- VANCE INDICATED GROMYKO'S REMARKS ON PLO INDICATED NO CHANGED SOVIET POSITION.

-- VANCE SAYS IT'S STILL POSSIBLE TO REACH SOME KIND OF AGREEMENT BY OCTOBER.

-- VANCE HOPES FAILURE WILL NOT RESULT IN ACCELERATION OF UNCLASSIFIED

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ARMS RACE.

RADIO/TV

NBC

RICHARD VALERIANI ON "TODAY" SHOW

SOVIET LEADER BREZHNEV, WHO HAD NOT ATTENDED THE TALKS SINCE MONDAY MORNING, REAPPEARED FOR THE FINAL SESSION, AND HE DID THE TALKING FOR THE SOVIET SIDE, ALL OF IT 'NO' TO THE TWO AMERICAN PROPOSALS FOR LIMITING NUCLEAR WEAPONS. BREZHNEV DID NOT PRESENT A NEW SOVIET COUNTERPROPOSAL, MEANING THAT SECRETARY VANCE HAS FAILED TO ACHIEVE THE PRINCIPAL GOAL OF HIS MISSION -- GETTING A FRAMEWORK OF AGREEMENT FOR NEGOTIATING A NEW ARMS CONTROL TREATY.

VANCE SAID LATER HE FELT THE OUTCOME HAD NOT BEEN AFFECTED BY THE DISPUTE OVER HUMAN RIGHTS. AND HE EXPRESSED A POSITIVE VIEW OF AMERICAN-SOVIET RELATIONS.

(THEN FOLLOWED CUT OF VANCE CHARACTERIZING NEGOTIATIONS)

VANCE WILL NOW INFORM WESTERN ALLIES ABOUT THE STALEMATE IN THE ARMS CONTROL TALKS BEFORE RETURNING TO WASHINGTON ON SATURDAY. HE PLANS TO CONTINUE THE DISCUSSIONS WITH FORNMIN GROMYKO IN MAY. BUT BOTH SIDES ARE CLEARLY TAKING A HARD LINE, AND AT THIS POINT, THERE ARE NO OUTWARD SIGNS OF A MOVE TOWARD COMPROMISE.

CBS

1. MARVIN KALB ON CBS-TV MORNING NEWS

THIS IS THE PRESIDENT'S FIRST MAJOR SETBACK IN FOREIGN POLICY. IT MEANS THAT THE STRATEGIC ARMS AGREEMENT SIGNED UNCLASSIFIED

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IN 1972 IS LIKELY TO EXPIRE THIS OCTOBER. WITHOUT AN EXTENSION, WHICH IS STILL POSSIBLE, THE CONSTRAINTS ON BUILDING LONG-RANGE MISSILES WILL BE LIFTED, AND ANOTHER ROUND IN THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE CAN BEGIN.

SOVIET EXPERTS WITHIN THE GOVERNMENT SUSPECTED THAT THE RUSSIANS WOULD BE TOUGH IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, BUT NOT QUITE THIS TOUGH. THERE WERE ELEMENTS OF NAIVETE IN THIS CALCULATION OF THE AMERICAN APPROACH. OFFICIALS UNDERESTIMATED THE SERIOUSNESS OF SOVIET LEADER BREZHNEV'S WARNING THAT NORMAL RELATIONS WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE UNLESS THE PRESIDENT EASED UP ON HIS HUMAN RIGHTS CAMPAIGN. IN ADDITION, THE US PRESENTED THE RUSSIANS WITH TWO PROPOSALS FOR A STRATEGIC ARMS AGREEMENT KNOWING IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT FOR THEM TO ACCEPT EITHER. THE UPSHOT WAS THAT BOTH WERE REJECTED.

THE PRESIDENT IS NOW FACED WITH THE PROSPECT OF EITHER CHANGING HIS APPROACH TO THE RUSSIANS OR LIVING WITH THE CONSEQUENCES OF A MAJOR CHILL IN SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

## 2. BERNARD KALB ON CBS RADIO, THURSDAY MORNING

REPORTERS TRAVELLING WITH SECRETARY VANCE FROM MOSCOW TO BONN TODAY GOT THE IMPRESSION THAT US OFFICIALS ARE TRYING TO ARREST THE NEGATIVE FALLOUT STEMMING FROM THE BREAKDOWN OF ARMS NEGOTIATIONS IN THE SOVIET CAPITAL. VANCE HIMSELF DID NOT CHAT WITH NEWSMEN DURING THE THREE-HOUR FLIGHT, BUT ONE US OFFICIAL VOLUNTEERED THAT SOVIET LEADER BREZHNEV, WHILE HE WAS READING THE STATEMENT REJECTING THE US PROPOSALS, WAS AFFABLE. ANOTHER OFFICIAL SAID THAT THE RUSSIANS TOLD THE AMERICANS NOT TO TAKE A GLOOMY VIEW, THAT THERE IS STILL TIME TO GET A NEW ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENT BEFORE THE CURRENT AGREEMENT EXPIRES IN OCTOBER, THE RUSSIANS QUOTED AS SAYING THEY DEFINITELY WANT A FOLLOW-UP

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MEETING BETWEEN FORNMIN GROMYKO AND VANCE IN GENEVA IN MAY.

SIGNIFICANTLY, THERE IS AT THIS POINT NOTHING TO SUGGEST ANY COMPROMISE. VANCE WILL BE IN BONN THIS AFTERNOON,

LONDON TONIGHT, PARIS TOMORROW TO BRIEF WEST EUROPEAN LEADERS ON WHAT HE CALLED, AS HE STEPPED OFF THE PLANE HERE ONLY A FEW HOURS AFTER DEPARTING THE SOVIET CAPITAL, HIS RECENT TRIP TO MOSCOW.

WIRES

AP

KEN FREED FROM BONN

LEAD: "SECSTATE CYRUS R. VANCE STARTED HOME FROM MOSCOW TODAY EXPRESSING HOPE FOR AN AGREEMENT EVENTUALLY TO

REDUCE THE SOVIET AND AMERICAN NUCLEAR ARSENALS DESPITE HIS FAILURE TO GET NEGOTIATIONS STARTED DURING HIS VISIT TO THE SOVIET CAPITAL."

OTHER POINTS:

-- VANCE FLEW TO BONN TO BRIEF SCHMIDT ON "FRUITLESS FIVE-DAY ATTEMPT TO BREAK DEADLOCK" ON SALT. THEN ON TO LONDON AND PARIS.

-- VANCE SAID IT HAD BEEN A USEFUL VISIT, AGREEMENT COULD NOT BE REACHED OVERNIGHT, AND HE WAS SURE BOTH SIDES WILL STUDY THE MATTER AND WILL FIND OBJECTIVES SIMILAR.

-- "MORE FAILURE AWAITED VANCE IN BONN," WHERE WEDNESDAY NIGHT SCHMIDT HAD REJECTED ADMINISTRATION'S URGING TO MODIFY NUCLEAR DEAL WITH BRAZIL AND DO MORE TO STIMULATE UNCLASSIFIED

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GERMAN ECONOMY.

UPI

NICHOLAS DANILOFF FROM BONN

LEAD: "SECSTATE VANCE ARRIVED IN WESTERN EUROPE TODAY TO ASSURE AMERICA'S ALLIES THE SOVIET UNION IS STILL COMMITTED TO A LONG-TERM STRATEGIC ARMS ACCORD DESPITE THE BREAKDOWN IN US-SOVIET TALKS."

OTHER POINTS:

-- "OFFICIALS IN PARTY" SAID THAT BREZHNEV ASSURED AMERICANS AT FINAL MEETING THAT USSR STILL WANTED TO ACHIEVE LONG-TERM AGREEMENT BY OCTOBER.

-- GROMYKO AND VANCE AGREED TO MEET IN GENEVA IN SECOND HALF OF MAY.

-- US OFFICIALS REJECTED NOTION THAT DETENTE IS ENDANGERED BY COLLAPSE OF SALT TALKS.

-- OFFICIALS ON PLANE DISCLOSED SEVERAL SECONDARY AGREEMENTS NOT ANNOUNCED WEDNESDAY:

- 1 - AGREEMENT TO BUILD NEW EMBASSIES
- 2 - EXTEND COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT ON SPACE EXPLORATION AND TECHNOLOGY
- 3 - EXTEND US-SOVIET COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY
- 4 - RESCHEDULED MEETINGS OF JOINT COMMISSION ON HOUSING AND ENERGY



-- "FOLLOW-ON WORKING GROUP" ALSO ESTABLISHED TO STUDY  
CIVIL DEFENSE ISSUES.

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-- VANCE HAD CALLED TALKS "USEFUL," NOTING AGREEMENT ON  
ARMS CONTROL CANNOT BE ACHIEVED OVERNIGHT. HE HOPES WAYS  
CAN BE FOUND TO MOVE FORWARD.

-- SECRETARY SOUGHT TO PUT BEST FACE ON IMPASSE THAT HAS  
DEEPENED SINCE NIXON REACHED FIRST MAJOR AGREEMENTS IN  
1972.

-- AT CORE OF BREAKDOWN IS CRUISE MISSILE.

NOTE:

1 - LOS ANGELES TIMES NOT YET ARRIVED. WILL BE COVERED  
IN EVENING CABLE.

2 - BOSTON HERALD AMERICAN DID NOT ARRIVE TODAY, THUS  
NO WALLACH. WILL SEND TOMORROW IF PAPER ARRIVES.

CHRISTOPHER

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## Message Attributes

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**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** N/A  
**Errors:** n/a  
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**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
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**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
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**Status:** NATIVE  
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**TAGS:** SOPN, OVIP, (VANCE, CYRUS R)  
**To:** SECRETARY  
**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009